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HATE IN HANDCUFFS
Segregationists being led from court in Clinton, Tenn., after arraignment following violence at the high school. Trial was set for Jan. 28. Attorneys General of Texas, Georgia and Louisiana joined their defense. With the lid on troublemakers, school opened quietly last week. (Earlier story on page 3.)

THE SPIRIT OF GANDHI

Montgomery holds six-day Institute on non-violent change

By Elmer Bendiner

THE NEGROES of Montgomery, Ala., during the week of Dec. 3-9 marked the first anniversary of their walking, singing, peaceful fight against bus segregation by holding a six-day "Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change" under a banner that read: "Freedom and Dignity Through Love."

Alabama police showed no signs of love. In the week before the Institute opened, Montgomery cops beat one Negro to death and shot another in the neck. In Gadsden police shot and killed another Negro in what they noted in the blotter as a "disturbance." Police charged all three had been carrying weapons. **Amsterdam News** reporter Milton Mallory wrote from Montgomery:

"As this is being written all Negroes on the streets after ten o'clock at night are being searched and any pen-knives or other articles which might be used as weapons taken away from them. I cannot carry my camera on the streets after ten at night for fear of having it taken. I have taken all my identifications from my wallet, for to be caught by police as a 'Northern Negro newspaperman' would be a direct invitation to trouble."

PRAY FOR STRENGTH: On Nov. 24 a daylight rally of the Ku Klux Klan in Montgomery featured a Baptist minister from Talladega who said: "The way I feel about them niggers who want to integrate is this—they don't want an education, they want a funeral."

Unprovoked, another minister, Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, opened the Institute's seminars with a "prayer to ask for the spiritual strength to remain non-violent in word and deed during these days of grave danger and great Christian opportunity."

The Institute, called by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, planned workshop sessions on: Registration, Voting, Transportation, Education, The Principles of Non-Violent Action, and "The Problems of Survival in the Face of Economic Pressure and Boycott." The week was to close with a banquet and a rally.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Pull over to the curb!"

A NEW AGE, IF . . . The slender 28-year old Rev. King keynoted the Institute in an opening address in the Holt Street Baptist Church where the decision to cease riding jimcrow buses was taken a year ago. That step, he said, "will long be stencilled on the mental sheets of succeeding generations." He dismissed the South's talk of "nullification" as the "death groans of a dying system" and said: "We are witnessing in our day the birth of a new age, with a new structure of freedom and justice. . . . If we succumb to the temptation of using violence in our struggle for justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness, and our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos."

In the crowd of thousands that jam-

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ISRAEL HOLDS GAZA STRIP

UN hopes for basic Mid-East solution as troops withdraw

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

AS PROGRESS REPORTS on troop withdrawal began to arrive from Egypt, the UN General Assembly continued its general debate, interrupting it to take up the Hungarian issue when it felt new steps were necessary. Tentative suggestions were made for UN initiative to find a permanent solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and of the problem of guaranteed traffic through the Suez Canal.

Anglo-French forces were reported leaving Port Said and Port Fuad amidst hostile demonstrations by the Egyptians. Slogans painted on walls said "British Go Home!", "Down With Eden!", "Long Live Nasser!". On Dec. 7, about 3,000 Egyptians marched in mourning for the Port Said residents killed in the fighting there.

HOLD GAZA STRIP: Although the UN resolution had called for withdrawal of Israeli troops behind the armistice lines, Israel seemed determined to hold on to the Gaza Strip, pressing for a peace settlement with Egypt. Occupation forces were reported to have introduced Israeli currency in Gaza, opened a bank and restored the railroad connection with Israel torn up eight years ago. Unless the UN plans a broad conference on Middle East problems, Israel's continued occupation of Gaza might complicate matters considerably.

It was evident, however, that any such conference would be difficult to arrange. While Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir urged a peaceful solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, the Arab countries seemed intent upon imposing stiffer terms on Israel than they would have before the three-nation attack on Egypt.

FOR BASIC SOLUTION: Declaring that "the desire for peace is deeply rooted among the people of Israel," Mrs. Meir said that "the Middle East cauldron will continue to seethe" unless the UN used its influence to persuade the Arab nations "to negotiate a fundamental solution." Denying that Israel was "an instrument of colonialism," she said: "It is the Israel-Arab conflict which keeps the area at the mercy of dangerously contending outside forces."

Iraqi delegate Fadhil al-Jamali in an unyielding speech asked for the impossible restoration of Arab refugees "to their own homes in Palestine." On this question, he said, "all the Arab world is Egypt and all Arab statesmen are Nassers."

Nevertheless, the U.S. State Dept., with President Eisenhower's approval issued a statement that "the UN cannot rightfully or prudently stop with maintaining peace." Calling for a basic solution of Middle East "friction and conflict of interests," the statement urged the UN to undertake: 1) immediate clearing of the

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MARTIAL LAW DECLARED

Hungary cut off, Workers Councils banned

HUNGARY WAS SEALED off from the world last week and telephone communication was reported cut even within the country. Martial law was clamped over the nation. Military courts were to have jurisdiction over cases of damage to factories or public institutions, robbery, manslaughter, looting and murder.

Tuesday, Dec. 11, was set as the deadline for turning in all weapons and even the government-formed people's militia was not exempt. The official Budapest radio, now the only news source in Hungary, said the crackdown was necessary because "large supplies of weapons are still in the hands of the people." Death was ordered for all those found in illegal possession of arms after the deadline.

BAN COUNCILS: The decree, read by President Istvan Dobi, charged that the Workers Councils, formed in the first flush of the rebellion, and with which the government has been in almost constant negotiations, had been "agitating for new bloodshed, armed provocations and strikes." It outlawed the Budapest Central Workers Council and all county and district councils though factory councils were to be permitted. Shortly before the decree the Budapest Workers Council had protested the arrest of some of its members and threatened a 48-hour general strike to begin Dec 11. It said the Kadar government could no longer be thought capable of leading the country.

For days before the decree tension had mounted in Budapest and the provinces with reports of bloody clashes. In the capital pro-and-anti government parades met head-on. Anti-government demonstrations took on a marked pro-U.S. note.

(Continued on Page 6)

Just A *gentle* Reminder

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• **Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose remittance, mail to:**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Bow to DuBois

DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

I enclose a check for $5.50 for a copy of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' **Black Reconstruction in America.** I'll just take this occasion again to say that Dr. DuBois is, and has been, one of the most magnificent fighters for right and truth for all races that America has known.

R. S. Havenor

Brave books

ERWIN, TENN.

One of the really important things to come out of the McCarthy Era and the Henry Luce dream of setting back the American clock to tick with the days of Queen Victoria and Captain Kidd, has been the rise of a new species of publishing house. Thanks to courageous and intelligent people like Liberty Book Club's Carl Marzani and Angus Cameron; Howard Fast, Leo Huberman, Paul Sweezy, and others, such publication outlets as Blue Heron, Monthly Review Press and Cameron & Kahn are now the young virile publishers of our day—standing where Houghton-Mifflin and its **Atlantic Monthly,** Little-Brown, Scribners, and other decaying establishments once stood.

If Thoreau, Walt Whitman, Harriet Beecher Stowe and James Russell Lowell were living today, their output would most likely be reaching us via **Mainstream.**

Ernest Seeman

Claude Williams' work

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Since early last spring Claude Williams has been harassed by local White Citizens Councils: his neighbors (some of them) frightened away, his person threatened, his watch dog killed. But Claude doesn't "scare" easily.

He cannot now hold meetings in Helena, Ala., but with his car he drives to many parts of the South, meeting people individually and in small groups under the local leadership of Harry Koger (Texas), Cliff Campbell (Florida), Dan Williams (Missouri), Lee Turner (Arkansas) and others.

He writes of his work:

"Integration will be achieved when a sufficient number of white people stand together with the colored people to enforce democracy on the local level. . . . In this basic educational work, the preachers among the people are strategic and key persons. They are accepted leaders, especially in the rural areas. . . . With Bibles in hand, we discuss the problem with these preachers. . . . This is the season when these preachers are speaking to the people—in camp meetings and revivals. . . ."

Harry Koger of Texas writes of Claude's visit there in September:

"The highlight was his presentation of **The Galilean and the Common Man** in a church with an audience which included pastors from some 15 other churches, Baptist, Methodist, Church of God, etc. . . . I have never seen Claude more effective and dynamic, and conversations with some of the preachers since then convince me that he drove home the gospel of a more abundant life here on earth."

What can you do to help Claude lead the common people of the South toward acceptance of integration?

Marion S. Davidson, Secy.
Claude Williams Committee
Box 85, Old Chelsea Sta.,
New York 11, N. Y.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LONDON, Nov. 26.—(UP)—A London doctor has suggested, in view of recent events in Hungary, that Santa Claus be stripped of his "traditional Russian garments."

Dr. P. M. Bloom asked, "Is it not high time that this be altered and the dear old gentleman clad in a manner more acceptable and suitable to the Western world?"

Detroit News, 11/26

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Wm. McCready, Detoit. Be sure to send original clipping and date of each entry.

Changing Cleveland

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Our neighborhood is no longer a changing one. It is now all changed. Here's what was done to force the final change. In one of the apartments down the block, there were a handful of white tenants left. The landlord there sent a notice around in August informing them that the building is being rented to colored only, and if these people wished to remain, they would pay the new rate of $85 per month. They had been renting at $56 for years. A few people tried to get a meeting together on this, but it was unsuccessful, for two reasons: The whites involved moved out within a month; the new Negro tenants were so tickled to get a place to live—that most of them didn't care even if they knew they were paying $30 per month more than the white tenants did.

To my way of thinking about it, the housing crisis in these big cities with mixed populations can be directed toward solution on a 3-way drive. First, maintain mixed neighborhoods, including the new suburbs, as a brake against panic buying and selling (more than one-half are home owners here); second, partial rent control—particularly against raising rents on the basis of color—and enforcing benefits to houses before rent increases; and third, rapid building of low cost housing projects—to accommodate the growing low income population coming to the cities.

It's enormous in scope of course, both educational and administrative—involves big city-wide action groups. But without it—the housing situation will remain a rat race run for the benefit of the real estate interests.

E.D.K.

Armed service security

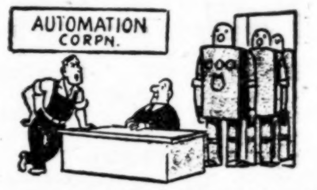
CHICAGO, ILL.

Having been recently discharged from the U.S. Army, I would like to inform the GUARDIAN readers of the armed forces "Security Clearance Program." This is a serious threat to individual liberties which denies a number of key posts to servicemen whose family might have descended from Eastern Europe or other countries the State Dept. lists as "undesirable." I personally know of one Marine who, although otherwise qualified, was refused a position in the Intelligence Dept. only because a relative of his parents, whom he had never seen and with whom his family had lost contact for many years, was living in Russia.

All servicemen must divulge the following information to the Security Clearance Dept. for screening for responsible positions in the armed forces. (1) Social Security number. (2) Date and place of birth and date and place of parent's birth. (3) If one or both parents are naturalized, place and court of naturalization.

Another injustice is the 3-year active Reserve obligation which requires young men to remain in this country to report to Reserve meetings weekly. This puts a halt to foreign travel and study abroad for many who had intended to do so.

Name Withheld



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"Sure they can produce the goods without me, but can they buy the goods if I'm on the dole?"

Pen-pals wanted

TOCHIO CITY, JAPAN

You may be surprised to receive this letter, so I will introduce myself to you.

I am a Japanese elementary school teacher. I want an American pen friend (continually) any age, male, female, type, state, occupation.

If possible, please introduce me through your news network until Christmas of this year. This is my desire. I would like to exchange educational information.

I wait for your good news.

Saburo Takahishi, Tochio Elementary School, Tochio City, Niigata Pref., Japan.

Weak on equations?

MONTREAL, QUE.

My enthusiasm for the GUARDIAN has waned over the last year or so. It's not that I love the GUARDIAN less but that I love socialism more. The GUARDIAN has succeeded, in spite of itself possibly, to equate socialism with Soviet achievements. This was not done crudely for the most part but on a reasonably high level of intellectual sophistication. Also, hardly a word of editorial criticism ever scarred the edifice of Soviet socialism. Why should the GUARDIAN have to wait for the Khrushchev revelations to realize that all's not well with the Soviet Union? After all, the GUARDIAN is an independent publication published in New York City! Or is it independent?

G. Glazer.

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REPORT TO READERS

A bang-up meeting

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 11

TWELVE HUNDRED PEOPLE came out to the Embassy Auditorium here to climax a grand week in Los Angeles for Tabitha Petran, the GUARDIAN's world analyst, and your Editor. Oldest and newest residents both (and there are a lot of them here) said it was the biggest and finest progressive meeting in town in many a moon. Dalton Trumbo and Jack Berman, former head of the So. California Independent Progressive Party, also spoke.

Miss Petran spoke for an hour on her visit to Egypt and Eastern Europe, and then we asked for written questions; 103 of them buried the speaker's platform. After another half hour of questions and answers a Guardian Angel in the audience sent up this message: "Miss Petran has given us so much. Please let her go home to rest." And on this note the meeting ended.

The plea was in order. Miss Petran arrived back in the U.S. on Nov. 29. The next day she left for Chicago and Detroit and has not stopped yet. As most of you read this, we will be in San Francisco for a windup meeting, and then back to New York, where Miss Petran will resume her coverage of the United Nations after nine months abroad.

Sitting in the second row at the Embassy was a familiar white haired lady. After the meeting she approached the platform and said to Miss Petran: "You've opened up a whole new part of the world for this audience." It was Anna Louise Strong—no mean world traveler herself.

MISS STRONG was referring to Miss Petran's description of her travels through Egypt and the Sudan, her talks with the peasants and the river boatmen, and the vivid description of their feelings about President Nasser and the revolution against feudalism, and the intensity of their hatred for the "imperialists." Illiterate, poor and diseased as they were, Miss Petran said, the people of Egypt were united in their desire to rid the country of "the imperialists who give us nothing and who always take from us." The people, she said, regard the fight against imperialism as the No. 1 job; the tension with Israel is secondary.

On the question of Israel, Miss Petran said that the invasion of Egypt made Israel's position more precarious than ever, that the whole Arab world resented Israel's alliance with Britain and France which "allowed the imperialists back in." Yet, despite this situation, she said, the real anger was directed against the British.

Miss Petran said she felt that American capital seemed to be waiting to reap the harvest the British and French tried to sow. She urged a real study by Americans of the history and aims of American imperialism and how it is regarded by the people of Asia and Africa. Only with such an understanding, she said, could the people of America really help in the fight for a peaceful world.

YOUR EDITOR reviewed the highlights in the GUARDIAN's first eight years and said that from the beginning the paper had tried to reflect the view of "progressive America—that group which holds the key to the future of this nation when it can learn to live with itself on a common program which will allow for argument and for change."

He said the GUARDIAN believed that the "human mind was something that must be respected. It cannot be put into a mold and be expected to freeze. It will not. It may become paralyzed but a thaw will set in." In this spirit, he said, the editors of the GUARDIAN believed in presenting facts and interpretation from the most reliable sources, and expecting the readers to make up their own minds on the basis of this information.

There were several smaller meetings in Los Angeles during the week, the last one Dec. 11 at the Pacific Town Club, a social and civic organization composed of many of the leading Negro business and professional men in the Los Angeles community.

THIS REPORT cannot end except on a note of wonderfully warm feeling for all the GUARDIAN Los Angelinos who made this trip such a pleasure. There wasn't a chore in the whole week. Many leaders of progressive organizations lent a willing hand—even as they were giving the boot to the House Un-American Activities Committee downtown.

And one last word for our Los Angeles representative Tiba Willner: great! Her talents on the West Coast are matched only by those of our own Theodora Peck on the East Coast.

—James Aronson

TOUGH JOB WELL DONE

How whites in one town defeated a school boycott

By Anne Braden

LOUISVILLE, KY.

THIS FALL the eyes of the world were on Clinton, Tenn., Mansfield., Tex., Clay and Sturgis, Ky., where mobs drove Negro children from the schools.

Too little has been told of Henderson, Ky., where mob action against integrated schools also threatened. There two men—two white Christian ministers with courage and a determination to witness for their faith—turned the tide against the White Citizens Council.

The determining factor appears to have been the leadership given by the Ministerial Association—chiefly that of the Rev. C. Sumpter Logan, president of the association and pastor of First Presbyterian Church, and the Rev. Theodore Braun, pastor of Zion Evangelical & Reformed Church and an active member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

This September five Negro children were admitted to the previously all-white Weaverton School in Henderson. They attended classes without incident for three weeks. But during that period the mob action against Negro students developed at Clay and Sturgis, 30 and 40 miles from Henderson; it was almost inevitable that the trouble would spread to Henderson.

ON THURSDAY, Sept. 20, Sumpter Logan was listening to a local news broadcast as he ate lunch. The announcer said that a W.C.C. leader from another Western Kentucky town would be in Henderson on Saturday night to address a public meeting at the Courthouse.

Mr. Logan called Theodore Braun and asked him to come to his house at once.

Mr. Logan and Mr. Braun knew they had to act quickly—before the W. C. C. had time to create such hysteria in the community that each man who opposed it in his secret heart would feel that he was alone and would fear to speak out.

That very day they called together as many other ministers as they could reach. This group agreed to call a full emergency meeting of the Ministerial Association the following morning.

At this meeting it became apparent that there were strong differences of opinion. But all the ministers agreed that they wanted law and order to prevail in the community; that they did not want another Clay and Sturgis in Henderson. Unanimous agreement was finally reached on a statement calling on the people of Henderson to keep "cool heads and calm emotions," to work for a lawful and orderly community, and to recognize the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land. And the ministers agreed to go in a body to the W. C. C. meeting on Saturday night and present their statement to the gathering.

ON SATURDAY night, a crowd estimated at 1,500 overflowed the Courthouse. Of approximately 20 ministers in the association, 13 were present. They sat in a body near the front. The W. C. C. leader from a neighboring community made a fiery speech denouncing the Supreme Court and desegregation. Shouts from the audience called for a white boycott of Weaverton School. Mr. Logan asked for the microphone to read the statement.

Before Mr. Logan had finished, his voice was drowned out by hisses and boos.

The meeting proceeded to plan the boycott, but the movement had been definitely dampened. On Monday morning, 280 white children out of an enrollment of 870 showed up at school.

On Tuesday, the W. C. C. had begun to recover; crowds milled around the school and sound trucks cruised the street urging parents to keep their children out of school. Attendance fell to 206 white pupils. But the ministers stepped up their efforts. They obtained the names of parents who had not withdrawn their children. They called all these people and invited them to a meeting at Mr. Braun's church on Tuesday night.

ABOUT 70 parents attended. Mr. Braun evaluated the meeting this way: "I think we all drew strength from each other. Many of the parents got up to explain why they were keeping their children in school. Few of them said they actually favored integration. The main reasons were these: 'I don't want my child's education interrupted'; 'I believe we must abide by the law.' But each one went away knowing he was not alone."

Mr. Logan and Mr. Braun had persuaded the city police chief to attend and promise that children would be protected if they went to school. Negro parents attended: the white people got to meet them and hear their position on integration.

School attendance began to climb slowly the next morning. The Ministerial Association was broadcasting spot announcements urging parents to "join the growing number of parents who are sending their children to school."

On Thursday night, a second parents' meeting was held. This time 50 attended.

THROUGHOUT the week, crowds around the school edged closer to violence; there were ugly threats throughout the community. But on Friday, the day on which the W.C.C. had pledged to empty the school of every pupil, attendance was up to 241. The W.C.C. knew it was beaten.

Events moved more rapidly then. The Kentucky attorney general issued an opinion that the school could not legally change its desegregation policy if it wanted to. This was a reversal of his stand at Clay and Sturgis, where he ruled that Negroes were in the schools illegally because the school boards had taken no formal steps toward integration. State law enforcement agencies then announced that leaders of the Henderson boycott could be prosecuted under state sedition or conspiracy laws.

At a W. C. C. meeting that Saturday night, two of the leaders proposed calling off the boycott and seeking to restore segregation by "legislative" methods. Their proposal was rejected; they resigned, and others pledged to carry forward the boycott.

But the back of the boycott had been broken. From then on, attendance climbed rapidly. Two weeks later, the boycott had collapsed, and leading W. C. C. members publicly resigned.

MR. LOGAN and Mr. Braun cite the determination of some parents; the attorney general's turnabout, a decent police chief, school officials who steadfastly kept the school open.

A Henderson white woman who kept her child in school through all the turmoil summed it up this way: "The thing was that there were some of us on our side just as determined as those on the other side. But I don't know whether we could have held out if it hadn't been for the ministers pulling us together."

Mr. Braun and Mr. Logan are also acutely aware that the problem is not yet basically solved. They know that much anti-Negro feeling still seethes beneath the surface; it could break loose again.

"I wish we could have done more," Mr. Logan says. "I'm not sure we really changed anybody's mind on segregation. In a way, you might say that all we did was witness."

MAYBE SO. But at least the paths by which men's minds and hearts can change have been kept open in Henderson. And perhaps the most convincing tribute to the work of the ministers was paid by leaders of the W.C.C. who told Mr. Logan and Mr. Braun:

"If it hadn't been for you, we'd have emptied the schools in three days."

Excerpted from an article in "The Witness," an Episcopal Church weekly.

WHERE HATE HAD A HEAD START

In Clinton, Tenn., (upper photo) White Citizens Councils kept the town boiling with a handful of racists and the kids they misled. In Clay, Ky., (lower) it took the National Guard to make sure that two Negro children could safely go to school.

WHERE THE PEOPLE FAILED:

It took tough court action to cool off segregationists in Clinton

MOST OF THE 3,712 people of Clinton, Tenn., have tried to avoid making the town's high school the site of a bloody last stand for jimcrow. When the term opened in September with 12 Negro boys and girls registering along with 700 whites, the town took it quietly.

Not until John Kasper and his White Citizens Council moved in around Labor Day did the ugly riots sweep the town that were ended only by the National Guard. Kasper was found guilty of violating a Federal injunction against interfering with Clinton's desegregation but he was freed on $10,000 bail pending appeal. He was also indicted for sedition and incitement to riot. His acquittal on those charges in Clinton's Court House last Nov. 21 touched off fresh trouble.

OUTSIDERS: The WCC launched a junior auxiliary, the Tennessee White Youth, gave them buttons and sent them off to school. High School principal D. J. Brittain Jr. said:

"The White Citizens Councils and prosegregationist agitators are trying to show the entire South that integration will be so unpleasant that no place else will want to try it . . . At these Council meetings around here, cars come from all over the state and even from other states. It's not just local people involved . . . If several schools had been integrated at the same time, the segregationists would have been forced to spread their efforts."

The Negro students were jostled, egged, spat on, threatened with worse. Tennessee White Youth members shouted insults at the six Negro girls, spilled ink on their dresses and their textbooks. On Wed., Nov. 28, the Negro children stayed home, citing reports of violence prepared against them. Still they turned down all offers of transfer to an all-Negro school.

Principal Brittain told a school assembly he would expel any student causing racial friction and that he had the names of eight ring-leaders. The Negro students stayed out until Tues., Dec. 4, when Rev. Paul W. Turner, white minister of the First Baptist Church, Clinton's largest congregation, and two other leaders escorted them back to school.

MINISTER BEATEN: Six of the Negro children had been brought in safely despite a crowd of hecklers, when Rev. Turner noticed seven men following him. He went to the police station to ask for an escort, was told that all available men were on duty at the school. The seven caught up with the minister in front of the telephone company building, knocked him down, beat him badly about the head and left him bloody.

Meanwhile Mrs. Brittain, the principal's wife and a home economics teacher, met two teen-agers in the school hallway who shoved her against the wall. Brittain ordered the school closed indefinitely. The School Board appealed to Atty. Gen. Brownell and won promise of swift prosecution of all those preventing integration. A delegation of 13 town leaders conferred with the U.S. District Atty. in Knoxville and came out with a handful of arrest warrants.

That Tuesday was Election Day in Clinton and the town spoke up clearly. The WCC had endorsed Brennan Meredith for mayor and three nominees for city council. All were routed. Judge T. L. Seeber, who had turned down WCC backing, won by 1,241 to 343. WCC council candidates lost similarly.

THIRTY DAYS: On Wednesday Dec. 5, 15 WCC members and Klansmen, including the county Grand Kleagle and the local WCC chairman, were brought before Federal Judge Robert L. Taylor who had issued the original injunction against interference with Clinton's desegregation. Also arraigned was a 16-year-old boy charged with assaulting a teacher. Judge Taylor set bail ranging from $1,000 to $12,000 and angrily threatened to jail without bond any of the defendants found interfering with the school.

During the hearing another WCC member, Joseph Diehl, was distributing handbills. He handed one to U. S. Atty. John C. Crawford who instantly ordered his arrest. The leaflet warned: "Asiatic Marxist Jews Control Gentile World." At Diehl's request Judge Taylor tried him immediately, granting him a court-appointed attorney named Fred Moses. Diehl was convicted of distributing "inflammatory literature" in court and sentenced to 30 days.

While Judge Taylor's court was handling the WCC leaders, principal Brittain conferred with his faculty over another problem: how to educate the hatred out of about 40 white boys who had contracted the disease from their elders.

PRO, CON AND OTHERWISE

What readers think about the elections, Hungary

BECAUSE OF CURRENT special interest in election analysis and world events, we are printing an extra page of Mailbag letters on these topics this week. We regret that, even in sharply edited form, we are unable to print all the excellent letters received every week from readers all over the world.

Political arm needed

PROVO, UTAH.

It seems clear to me that, as you point out, "we the people" have no political arm for the support of President Eisenhower's peace policy; so it is up to the people's peace forces to take the matter into their own hands.

I suggest that the GUARDIAN organize this subject; devise ways and means whereby the people can be mobilized and directed to make the will for peace of the American people effective.

E. A. Mitchell

Wrong tree?

GLEN WILD, N.Y.

I have followed this election very closely, watching and listening through radio, television, newspapers and in my high school (I am 15). In discussions with parents and friends—longtime progressives and staunch ALP'ers—and after reading analyses in the GUARDIAN and letters from GUARDIAN readers, I reached a decision in favor of launching progressive support, not in minor parties, nor in a United Socialist group, but in the Democratic Party. I now realize that the American Left has been barking up the wrong tree. There are a half-dozen isolated and non-influential splinter groups. The place for the American progressives is not with Dobbs and Haas, but with Lehman and Mrs. Roosevelt.

Allen Young

Northwest report

SPOKANE, WASH.

Eisenhower's personal appeal failed to save the sinking Republican ship in this corner of the country. While Stevenson trailed by 80,000 in Washington state, Ike's choice, Gov. Langlie, was short by more than 225,000 in his bid to supplant Democratic Sen. Magnuson in a total vote of 1,100,000. Langlie has been an outspoken foe of a Federal dam at Hell's Canyon. Only Washington contest to outpoll Magnuson was a better than 2-to-1 rejection by voters of a proposed "right-to-work" law. Spurred by a united labor campaign, workers and farmers alike flocked to the polls to defend high living standards identified with strong union organization in the Northwest. For the first time in a generation a complete slate of Democrats will man Washington state offices, while strong Democratic majorities rule in both legislative houses. New governor Albert D. Rosellini's program includes a detailed plan for returning the state to its once-honored position in the fields of pensions and public welfare.

Only success salvaged by big money interests in the popular upheaval was defeat of Pearl A. Wanamaker, world-renowned educator and state superintendent of public instruction since 1940. A major factor in Mrs. Wanamaker's defeat was misdirected mass resentment against the present crushing tax burden. However, teachers and other labor spokesmen look for complete overhaul of revenue machinery under the new government. One suggested solution is a constitutional amendment permitting a graduated income tax and abolition of Washington's sales tax, the nation's worst.

In Oregon, in addition to Democratic Sens. Morse and Neuberger, the state will now be represented in Congress by two new Democratic winners. Only one Republican has been retained in the four-member House delegation. Oregon's new governor, Robert Holmes, is the first Democrat to preside at Salem within the memory of many middle-aged, if not old, inhabitants. Demos captured the Oregon House for the first time since 1937 and tied Republicans in the Senate. Lack of vaunted Republican prosperity in the lumber industry is seen by many as an important reason for the Oregon upset.

Neighboring Idaho retired McCarthyite Senator Herman Welker, via a humiliating defeat at the hands of 32-year-old Democrat Frank Church. This despite 12,000 write-in votes for Glen Taylor. The latter lost to Church by 200 votes in the primary in what many believe was a brazen steal by the old-guard party machine. Idaho Demos also took over the Senate and narrowed the Republican House majority to two seats. Public power Congresswoman Gracie Pfost, known affectionately and otherwise as "Hell's Belle," easily retained her House seat.

All the above was realized largely through the work of a new and united force spreading throughout this area. Labor spearheaded this force with a political apparatus independent of old parties and embracing farmers, school forces, pensioners and others. Women did a big share of the work. Surely Florence Luscomb will agree that this is "fruitful political action" and part of the approach to mass socialist education.

Due to the length of above, will add $1 forum fee and a head start for '57.

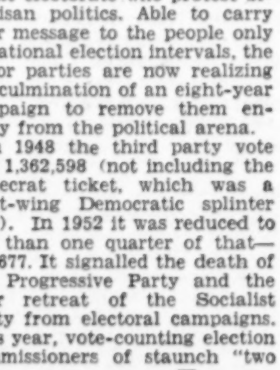
Paul R. Emerson

Minor party exits

HAMBURG, N.Y.

In the wake of the Eisenhower one-man landslide Nov. 6, the political post-mortem experts will now proceed to dissect and evaluate the results of the Republican and Democratic efforts, but it may be assured that none will stop to ponder the fate of the protest parties which have been the only instrument of that part of the electorate who protest bipartisan politics. Able to carry their message to the people only at national election intervals, the minor parties are now realizing the culmination of an eight-year campaign to remove them entirely from the political arena.

In 1948 the third party vote was 1,362,598 (not including the Dixiecrat ticket, which was a right-wing Democratic splinter vote). In 1952 it was reduced to less than one quarter of that—295,677. It signalled the death of the Progressive Party and the near retreat of the Socialist Party from electoral campaigns. This year, vote-counting election commissioners of staunch "two party" convictions may well increase this reactionary trend when they invalidate thousands of write-in ballots.



Could it be that the two-party bosses, seeing that the specter of political polarization is coming more quickly as issues and differences between the two melt, are enacting the bulwark of vicious and un-democratic election laws so that no legal basis remains for the initial formation of the inevitable labor-farmer-small business party? Whatever the reason, liberals and progressives must unite to force state legislatures to repeal these anti-minority measures. Otherwise the third party will for all practical purposes be banned from the American political scene.

G. W. Russell

United Left needed

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The election results should prove what every thinking person on the American Left should have already known, mainly that (a) Americans have not as yet reached political maturity, and (b) will not achieve that maturity and insight until economic conditions promote it. The huge vote for Ike was an indication of the personality cult with a vengeance.

I believe economic necessity is the mother of change. The great depression brought in the new philosophy of the New Deal and gave rise to greater unionization and the American Labor Party. The Second World War ravaged Europe and now we have greater left-wing parties and socialist governments on that continent. Secondly, it may be said that certain liberal Democrats in the election did win and therefore everything wasn't lost.

I would say we need a united left-wing movement to educate the people for coming events.

S. G.

Repeal Rule 22

DETROIT, MICH.

Re Dr. DuBois' article advocating the necessity of changing the basis of representation in the Senate, I feel that this approach is not too promising because it requires a Constitutional amendment, whereas we have not yet done all we can to win the full potential of civil rights available within the framework of the Constitution as it stands.

Specifically, I think now is the time to launch a real campaign, in Congress and at the grass roots, to repeal Senate Rule 22 and the Senate seniority rule; and for the right to vote, linked to the demand to reduce congressional representation of States which disfranchise their own citizens.

Detroiter

Ambiguous balloting

WASHINGTON, KANS.

What could more clearly indicate the confusion concerning political matters that exists in the minds of the people of the U.S. than the recent election? There can be little doubt that the landslide vote for Eisenhower was brought about by the propaganda campaign playing up the Republican Party as the "peace party" and Ike as its true representative. Would it not therefore have been more coherent reasoning on the part of those who fell for this line to have placed in power a Republican Congress?

Oregon offers the best example of the more or less ambiguous situation that developed nationwide. Morse, one of the few liberal, forward-looking men in that body, was returned to the U.S. Senate despite the fact that he so strenuously disagreed with the policies of the Republicans that he withdrew from their party and ran in 1956 on the Democratic ticket. Eisenhower, on the other hand, representing the crudest, most blatant reaction of recent times, carried the state by a sizeable majority which means that many who voted for Eisenhower also voted for Morse. Voters such as these do not realize that they are pulling in opposite directions at the same time.

One of the admonitions of the get-out-the-vote crowd was "be informed." Any voter whose only source of information was the commercial news agencies could not have been more thoroughly mis-informed.

Ernest B. Benne

Quit S. & K.

BELHAVEN, N.C.

In view of my letter in the Nov. 5 GUARDIAN [for S. & K.], I think it only fair to admit that at the last minute I changed my mind and voted for Eisenhower. I felt that Eisenhower might get us through the immediate crisis without war, while the statements of Stevenson sympathizing with our "democratic" allies in their hour of aggression against "the dictator" Nasser indicated an inclination to march to the aid of the burglar and to join him in his attack on the householder.

Of only one thing did I remain sure: "I urge all splinter socialist groups to unite into an effective socialist movement, and if this happens, I shall certainly join and support the United Socialist Party."

Let's bury the hatchet, forget Trotsky, Stalin, etc., and think about the U.S. here and now, its problems and its future. There are many roads to socialism, and far more important than which one we take is agreeing on and facing toward our destination.

Vernon Ward

Finland's example

W. HAVEN, CONN.

During the recent election campaign, Sen. Prescott Bush, Republican candidate, said on TV: "We stopped the communist advance in Guatemala." This was a frank admission that we are interfering in other countries' affairs.

It is no secret that we send balloons, some equipped with cameras, to the Eastern European countries; we incite riots by powerful radio broadcasts and our Congress grants yearly $100,000,000 to those renegades who are willing to kill their brothers for money.

What right have we to interfere and force other countries to accept our leadership, while at the same time we condemn Russia, which responded to the appeal for help from the weak Hungarian government and came to save the country from the invading Horthyites, who were on the Hitler side during the last war? As to the view expressed by some liberals that the Hungarians should have worked out their problems themselves without outside help, I can point to a historical fact: In 1918, Finland was faced with civil war and the workers government wanted to earn their own victory, refusing Russia's assistance. They were crushed by the ruthless Gen. Mannerheim. Not until the end of the Second World War did the Finns finally realize that their security can be attained only by friendly relations with their big neighbor, USSR. Had they then accepted Soviet army help all that bloody civil war might have been avoided, as well as the war of 1939.

Hungary's position is still more dangerous than Finland's was in 1918. If reaction could get a foothold in the country it would stir trouble also in neighboring states.

The U.S.S.R. liberated those small countries from Hitler; let her protect them from all evil forces until they develop their own vigilance and strength.

M.R.

Double standard

BRONX, N. Y.

One is a little bewildered these days at the double standard of treatment accorded rebels. In our country we imprison them for merely talking or writing about the alteration or abolition of a government that is more concerned with the privileged few than it is with the interests of the overwhelming majority. But to the rebels of foreign nations who openly attempt to overthrow their governments by force and violence, we extend our warm approval and a cordial welcome.

Miriam Stern

Surprise the world

BRAINERD, MINN.

Has the policy of our capitalist system been changed? It is stated that at least 5,000 rebels from Hungary have been ostentatiously granted permanent residence in the U. S. A.

I sincerely hope our President and the 85th Congress will surprise the world—and us—by enacting legislation which will grant as a universal right an adequate federal old age pension to all citizens after passing their 60th birthday.

We senior citizens of the U. S. who have built up the nation and are now suffering from poor health and almost destitute, being victims of a system of legalized robbery, do not want the selected emigrants to suffer the malicious injustice which we have been forced to endure.

Robert Scherlie

Seeing green

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When the first word was out about the Hungarian revolution (counter-revolution?) a big point was made of the fact that the rebels waved green banners and wore green insignia. Not pointed out is that this is the rallying color of the anti-Communist (also: anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi, pro-Axis, anti-democracy, anti-freedom, clerico-monarchial) fascist White Terror Hungarian Greenshirts.

Ernest J. Sayre

N. Y. Herald Tribune

THE BIG QUESTION

'COOL HEAD MAIN THING'

Hawaii probers frustrated at unionists' refusal to talk

By Lawrence Emery

WORK STOPPAGES, demonstrations, tropical rainstorms and a parade of silent witnesses confronted Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee during its six days of searching for a red menace in Hawaii. Long before the hearings ended on Dec. 6, the Honolulu **Advertiser** reported that "the Senators appeared both dismayed and puzzled by the continuing refusal of union witnesses to answer their questions."

The dismay finally turned to frustration and the probers left the Islands with threats to cite the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the United Public Workers as "communist-infiltrated" organizations under the Communist Control Act; to apply the Brownell Compulsory Testimony Act to witnesses who refused to testify; and to prosecute a writer for the progressive weekly Honolulu **Record**—and possibly the paper itself—on a charge of violating the Foreign Agent Registration Act.

MARCH IN THE RAIN: On the first day of the hearing on Nov. 30 about 6,200 sugar, pineapple and dock workers on Oahu left their jobs in a one-day stop-work protest; a similar number held stop-work demonstrations on other Islands on the following Monday. On Oahu 3,000 of the one-day strikers traveled to Honolulu from all parts of the Island, held a protest rally in the Civic Auditorium, then marched two miles in a roaring downpour to Iolani Palace where the hearings were conducted. Earlier, ILWU president Harry Bridges (who was not called as a witness) told newsmen on his arrival from the Coast that Sen. Eastland's "real purpose down here is to bar Statehood. He's against Statehood because Hawaii might elect some non-whites. That makes him a bum and a phony in any language."

SEN. JAMES O. EASTLAND
Bridges had a name for him

The day the hearings opened the ILWU inserted a three-quarter-page ad in the **Advertiser** to offer proof "that the Eastland committee is definitely interested in things other than alleged communist activity" but "intends to use the local hearing for the purpose of defeating Statehood and attempting to undermine the Int'l. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union."

NAME, ADDRESS ONLY: The ad revealed that ILWU attorneys had told the committee that if it "would agree not to go on a 'fishing expedition' into the private affairs of the ILWU," then "every official or employe of the ILWU currently under subpena will reply with YES or NO answers to the following questions: 1) Are you a member of the Communist Party? 2) Have you been a member of the Communist Party at any time during the last several years?" The offer was rejected.

All "unfriendly witnesses" invoked the Fifth Amendment and some of them also included the First. Most told the committee nothing beyond their names and addresses. In addition to officers and employes of the two unions and the **Record**, the committee also called Myer C. Symonds and Harriet Bouslog Sawyer whose law firm represents the ILWU; both attorneys were part of the defense team in the 1953 Honolulu Smith Act trial in which Jack Hall, ILWU regional director, was one of seven convicted. That case is still on appeal.

It was Republican Gov. Samuel Wilder King, an Eisenhower appointee, who recommended use of the Communist Control Act against the ILWU because that would "free industry from the necessity of recognizing such organizations as legitimate labor unions, with which it is now required by law to negotiate."

RECORDS SUBPENAED: Gov. King also deplored the political influence of the ILWU in the Islands and said that 26 of 28 candidates endorsed by the union in the recent elections won.

When frustration at silent witnesses set in, the committee in a surprise move produced subpenas ordering officials of both unions "forthwith," in the company of a U.S. Marshal, to go to their offices and bring back their financial records. The committee got real tough about it; they were particularly interested in how much the unions had received and spent in the Smith Act trial and if any of their funds had been used for defense of any of the six non-union members in that trial, and in how much they had spent in the election campaign.

When Henry Epstein, UPW head who was on the stand when the subpenas were produced, asked by what authority a Marshal was to accompany him, committee counsel Robert Morris said: "You've been told all the authority you need." When Epstein announced, "I'm going to object," Sen. John Marshall Butler (R-Md.) replied: "You are not going to do anything but get the records." When Epstein tried to speak again, Sen. Herman Welker (R-Ida.) cut him off: "Stop talking and go on your little trip."

'FOREIGN AGENT': After considerable discussion with defense attorneys, the committee agreed to call off the Marshal and decided that "forthwith" didn't necessarily mean "right now." Eventually union records pertaining to the Smith Act defense and the election campaign were turned over to the committee.

The Foreign Agent Registration law entered the hearings when a committee witness testified that four years ago he bought a copy of **China Monthly Review** in the store of a writer for the **Record.** (The monthly, now defunct, was formerly published in Shanghai; its former editors, William and Sylvia Powell and Julian Schuman, are now under indictment in San Francisco on a charge of violating the Espionage Law for the manner in which they reported the war in Korea). Irving Fishman, Deputy Collector of Customs for the Port of New York, testified that anyone distributing such material must register as a foreign agent. He also gave it as his personal opinion that sending the Honolulu **Record** to foreign countries also violates the law.

At the close of hearings, the Senators announced that testimony heard "leads us to the conclusion that persons whom our evidence shows to have been communists are acting in concert in a present day conspiracy to further Soviet purposes in these Islands." But former Territorial Atty. Gen. Edward M. Sylva, an old red-hunter himself who was recently fired for attending a testimonial dinner to Hall, declared that the subcommittee failed to prove "by competent evidence or competent witnesses, masked or unmasked," that there are any communists in Hawaii.

Throughout the six-day hearings angry Hawaii unionists kept repeating an old Island slogan: **Cool head main thing.**

A COMMITTEE INFORMER AT WORK
Government witness (R) fingers victim, Mrs. Delphine Smith

WELCOME AS OLD SCROOGE

West Coast hearings run against solid opposition

CONGRESSIONAL witchhunters were all over the lot as Yuletide approached but mainly succeeded in proving themselves as popular as Old Scrooge. Their main aim seemed to be to brand attempts to amend the Walter-McCarran immigration law "un-American" and the principal target, coast-to-coast, was the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The cross-country investigation followed Washington hearings Nov. 12-13-14 at which East Coast leaders of the ACPFB weathered House Un-American Activities Committee grilling without a crack in a solid front of opposition to the inquisitors. As the investigators headed for their last stop in Seattle Dec. 13-14, they were threatened with court action by Brig-Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge for subversion, treason and giving aid and comfort to the nation's enemies by "attempted character assassination of respected citizens of the United States."

● In Youngstown, O., on Nov. 28, Reps. Harold Velde (R-Ill.) and Edwin Willis (D-La.) got absolutely nothing," according to the Pittsburgh **Press**, after a day of questioning witnesses including Pittsburgh attorney Hyman Schlesinger, defense counsel in the Pittsburgh Smith Act cases, and five others represented by him.

● In Chicago, Dec. 3-4, with ACPFB heads from Missouri, Minnesota and Michigan as well as Illinois summoned, the hearings served largely as the sounding board for a Ford labor spy and two FBI plants in the Communist Party. In a hearing room peopled heavily with representatives of racist groups who received Committee passes, witnesses including the popular Rev. Charles A. Hill of Detroit defied the Committee all down the line. The Committee's star witness was a gaffer named Anzell A. Czarnowski (Steve Czerwin for short), 60, of Argo, Ill., an FBI plant in the Illinois CP from 1944-55. A Legionnaire also during this period, he testified to passing out a dozen Legion parade rifles to CP guests in his home, with the statement: "I don't know about you comrades, but I'm ready for the revolution now." He named 75 as Illinois CP members.

● Up and down the West Coast, some 66 subpenas were issued in six cities for hearings in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle. Those summoned included Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, whose First Unitarian Church Trustees backed him 100% in a statement calling for abolition of the Committee as "fantastically out of line with the American way of life." Other nationally-known figures summoned were Laurent Frantz, Berkeley civil liberties attorney and frequent contributor to **The Nation**, and Louis Goldblatt, Secy.-Treas. of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges.

ROUGH STUFF: The L.A. hearings Dec. 6-7-8 were a three-day circus in which four lawyers were ejected for challenging the conduct of Committee counsel Richard Arens. Brig.-Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge (Ret.) was ejected also when he appeared in person without subpena to denounce the Committee and threaten personal arrest of Rep. Clyde Doyle, California Democrat who chaired the L.A. sessions.

The investigators—Doyle and Reps. Gordon L. Scherer (R-Ohio) and Harold Velde (R-Ill.)—left for San Francisco with the editorial advice of the L.A. **Tribune** to "stop picking daisies and go chase the Ku Klux Klan."

First attorney ejected was A. L. Wirin, veteran civil liberties attorney representing Mrs. Rose Chernin Kuznitz, ACPFB official who was also represented by attorney John W. Porter. Wirin's offense was objecting to Arens' repeated characterization of Porter as "Comrade Porter".

Later Porter was also ordered out of the hearing room, as were attorneys Maynard Omerberg (for protesting the subpenaing of a client who collapsed on the scene from a heart ailment) and Robert L. Brock (who called Arens a liar for misquoting his testimony before a previous hearing of the Committee). The only "friendly" witnesses were well-known FBI plants in the California CP.

The annual national conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, taking place in L.A. during the Committee's stay there, was unusually well-attended despite Committee subpenas for many of its top sponsors, including Rev. Fritchman.

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BASIC REALIGNMENT SEEN

Ferment on Left weakens CP-Socialist ties in Italy

By Ecco La Scolta

ROME

On Dec. 8 the Italian Communist Party opened its Congress in Rome, possibly the most fateful one since the war. The Congress will test the ability of the strongest Western CP to withstand the shocks of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union's CP and the recent events in Hungary. Last week the N. Y. Times reported widespread divisions in the CP with 40% of party members in Rome refusing to vote for CP leader Palmiro Togliatti in local inter-party elections. The following background story on Italy was received before the Congress opened.

EVENTS IN HUNGARY have created more ferment on the Italian political scene than anything else in recent years. Briefly, some of the notable effects of the tragic news from Hungary have been:

1) The almost complete rupture of relations between the Socialist and Communist Parties. 2) An open revolt within the ranks of the Communist Party itself. 3) And most important of all—a mounting dissatisfaction on the part of the masses of Italian people with the lack of program from the Left.

Some months ago, the Socialist International organized a series of meetings between Pietro Nenni's Socialist Party and its eight-year old split-off, Sarragat's Social Democrats, in an attempt to lay a base for eventual reunification. Top level conferences between the two went along haltingly for several months. The chief stumbling block to reunification seemed to be the Social Democrats' demand for a complete break between Socialists and Communists.

PALMIRO TOGLIATTI
"Unreconstructed Stalinist"?

PACT WEAKENED: At the end of September CP leader Palmiro Togliatti and Nenni held a sudden meeting and signed a new agreement superseding the old "pact of action." The new agreement merely stated, in a handful of words, that the Socialist and Communist Parties would . . . "meet from time to time on such problems of mutual interest that would be of benefit to both parties." It was reported that Togliatti had offered Nenni a much more elaborate and carefully developed formal agreement, but that Nenni had refused to sign it and had, in fact, pruned it down to the few, rather vague, phrases that constituted the new agreement.

The immediate result was a howl of protest from the Social Democrats who had insisted on nothing less than complete and final severance of relations.

What do Nenni and the Socialists hope to gain from an alliance with the Social Democrats? For one thing, such an alliance might create an immediate crisis in the government. Social Democratic withdrawal from the existing coalition would leave the government in the hands of the Christian Democrats and two minor allies of negligible strength (Republicans and Liberals). This remaining coalition would control a bare 43% of the Parliament.

BALANCE OF POWER: If the Social Democrats joined with the Socialists, their combined Parliamentary strength could constitute an important balance of power factor between the Christian Democrats' Center and the Communist Left.

Perhaps both Nenni and Sarragat believe that a united Socialist Party might succeed in doing what the Socialist Party of France has done. They may envision for Italy (as in France) a minority one-party government holding power with tacit acceptance from both Left and Center.

This would, if achieved, take the Italian government out of the hands of the Christian Democrats who have run it almost since the end of World War II. To forestall this possibility, the Demo-Christians might, of course, offer a united Socialist Party a place in the government coalition. But this would undoubtedly mean giving a Ministerial post to Nenni himself — something which the Christian Democrats have proclaimed as completely unacceptable.

PIETRO NENNI
He cut down the pact

What could the Christian Democratic alternative be? Acceptance of support from the Right (Monarchists and Fascists) would create a tremendous furor among trade union and liberal Catholic elements which comprise a large proportion of their base. An alliance with the Right could drive these elements into the arms of a united Socialist Party.

PREOCCUPATION: A Congress of the Christian Democratic Party which took place concurrently with the Socialist discussions was preoccupied almost entirely not with their own political future, but that of an eventual unified Socialist Party.

This is how things stood when Hungarian events hit the news in Italy. After a day or two of agonizing indecision, Nenni personally, and the Socialist Party officially, condemned the presence of Soviet troops and called for neutralization and free elections in Hungary. In addition, Nenni eventually repudiated his Stalin Peace Prize.

The Italian Communist press at first condemned the Hungarian rebellion as an attempted fascist coup. Togliatti himself wrote a long editorial in **L'Unita** leaving no doubt that this was the official line. A howl of protest went up almost immediately. In the editorial offices of the Roman Communist papers (**L'Unita, Paesa Sera, Il Paese**), certain editors, journalists and writers refused to accept this line. Meetings were held 24 hours around the clock and threats of resignations were heard from previously placid staff members.

REBELLION: A day or two later, the line was modified and a harassed, unclear but valiant attempt was made in the editorial departments of the Communist press to assess the Hungarian events in a more or less realistic fashion. At the same time, a number of large meetings of various Communist sections broke out into open rebellion against the official interpretation. Resolutions condemning Togliatti and other leaders were proposed. A number of section leaders threatened to resign. One resolution from a large Communist Party District in Rome called on Giuseppe di Vittori (head of the CGIL—Genl. Fedn. of Labor—and a leading Communist deputy) to "take the banner of the Party in his hands," with implicit approval for removing Togliatti and certain others from the leadership of the Party.

Togliatti was specifically condemned by some as an "unreconstructed Stalinist" and although he has been able to survive many difficult moments, it is hard to foresee his political future for the next several years.

For the past four years, the Left parties in Italy have been pursuing an almost exclusively Parliamentarian policy. Such activities as minor, one-hour work stoppages are rare enough to be newsworthy, and large strikes are completely unheard of even though wages for skilled workers still average around $2 a day. Organization among the peasantry has been notably stronger, but action on the agricultural front is a drawn-out process and slow to show results.

OUT OF TOUCH: It might be said that the Italian Left has for some time begun to lose its contact with the people. If trade union elections are any gauge, this is undoubtedly so. In the industrial plants of the North, in Turin, Milan, Genoa, the Left-led CGIL has been losing heavily, both to the Catholic-dominated CSIL and the other smaller Social Democratic labor federations. As a matter of fact, for the past several years, it has seemed that the basic overall policy of the Left has been "don't rock the boat."

The theory apparently was to conserve the large minority percentage in Parliament and to inch slowly forward from this position. Eventually, the Centrist parties would be forced to recognize the necessity of including the Left within the functions of government. As things stand now, within the space of a few weeks, this hope has been shattered.

There will be a national election one year from now. The outcome is certainly too far off to make any sensible predictions; too much can yet happen and probably will. However, if the election were today, there would be a huge decline in the Communist vote.

Hungary cut off

(Continued from Page 1)

The demonstrators gathered in front of the U. S. Embassy and called for U. S. intervention. Leaflets had been circulated advising those "without stomach for further battles" to leave by Thurs., Dec. 13, cited as the date for new armed uprising against the government.

SURPRISE ACTION: It was clear that the Kadar government, backed by the Soviet army, would have to resolve the situation swiftly or collapse, since the nation could not much longer survive the paralysis, hunger and cold that has gripped Hungary since the fighting ceased. The outlawing of the Workers Councils was more surprising. On Dec. 7, three days before the councils were banned, London **Daily Worker** correspondent Sam Russell wrote that it was "completely untrue" that the government wished to smash the Councils. He reported it was the Kadar regime's policy to give them "the leading part in the country's industrial life."

Workers' Councils are a dominant feature of Yugoslavia's road to socialism. They sprang up in Poland where they took over the mines and factories, dumping the former foremen, while Gomulka charted the new look in Warsaw. In Hungary the Councils became local governing bodies during the Nagy regime. The county, district and city Councils included representatives of the factory Councils and served to coordinate the new system of worker representation and later to act as bargaining agent with the government.

The U.S. answered appeals from Budapest demonstrators by rallying 15 UN delegations to a Sunday conference and winning their backing for a tough resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its action in Hungary and demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops "under UN observation." India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia offered their own resolution that would send the UN Secy. Gen. to Moscow and Budapest to negotiate Soviet troop withdrawal.

DEBATE GOES ON: Working without resolutions, India's Ambassador to the Soviet Union, K. P. Menon, was reported shuttling between Moscow and Budapest in an effort to help end what, from any point of view, remained a horror.

The background of the horror was still being debated last week. Leslie B. Bain in the **Reporter** (12/13) told of a conversation in a Budapest cellar with Bela Kovacs, member of Nagy's last cabinet, on Nov. 4 while Soviet tanks were re-entering the city.

The Peasant Party leader said the Soviets intervened for the second time because "we went too fast and too far." All the revolution's goals could have been won, he said, if it could have been slowed down. Kovacs admitted that counter-revolutionaries were operating and that a White Terror was possible, but he thought there was no chance of a stable reactionary regime in Hungary. The economic power had irretrievably gone from the hands of feudalism and without it they could not keep political power even if they won it.

On that last possibility Kovacs said: "No one in Hungary cares for those who fled to the West after their own terror regime was finished—and then got their financing from the West. Had there been an attempt to put them in power, all Hungary would have risen instantly . . . I wish you could convince the West and make them keep the reactionaries out of our hair. Many of the exiles the Americans are backing are men marked because of their war crimes. Some of the voices that come to us over Radio Free Europe in particular are not welcome here." But as for the Kadar government's future, he predicted: "The day will come when a fateful choice will have to be made: Exterminate the entire population by slow starvation and police terror or else accept the irreducible demand—the withdrawal of Soviet forces from our country."

OTHER ANSWERS: Another point of view was given in three messages from Budapest printed in the Paris **Lettres Francaises.** Louis Aragon, editor of **Lettres Francaises**, Jean-Paul Sartre and other French intellectuals had written to Kadar asking him to guarantee "the life, physical liberty and rights of conscience" of Hungarian intellectuals. Painter-professor Bertalan Por, poet Jozsef Fodor and writer Gyorgy Bolonyi all testified in their answers to the danger of counter-revolution in Hungary. Prof. Por wrote: "For two weeks I have experienced the fatal menace of the White Terror . . ."

DIVIDED OPINIONS: In Helsinki on Nov. 18 the Bureau of the World Council of Peace met in emergency conference. There were 50 delegates from 25 countries. They agreed unanimously in condemning France, Britain and Israel for the war in Egypt, but on Hungary their declaration said that "opposing points of view made it impossible to formulate an agreed evaluation of the events."

The delegates agreed in declaring that "on the one hand the cold war, with its years of hate and distrust and the policy of blocs and, on the other hand, the faults of former administration as well as the exploitation of those faults by foreign propagandists have been at the root of the events in Hungary."

The declaration regretted the bloodshed, called for the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

ASIA REAPPRAISAL UNDER WAY?

Nehru hopes on visit here to ease U.S.-China relations

WASHINGTON HAS BEEN making careful preparations for Indian Premier Nehru's Dec. 16 visit to the U.S. It has sent former U.S. Ambassador to India (now Senator-elect) John Sherman Cooper to New Delhi to hold preliminary talks with Nehru

During both the Middle East and Hungarian crises Washington's UN Ambassador Lodge made a special effort to secure the cooperation of those Asians who belong to no power blocs. Though it was no more than a working relationship on individual issues, reports said that Lodge has been stressing to the State Dept. the growing importance of the Bandung powers in international affairs and the need to cultivate their friendship.

All this has prompted speculation that Washington has been cautiously taking a new look at its Asia policy, that it is trying "to establish a cooperative relationship between the U.S. and the 26-nation Asian-African bloc" at the UN (**Christian Science Monitor,** 11/26). If true, this would call for a reappraisal of U.S. relations with the non-committed Asian nations, since Washington can usually depend on the support of Asians already belonging to U.S.-sponsored alliances.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY: Such a reappaisal must begin with a consideration of what the non-committed Asians think of U.S. policy in Asia up to now, what they and not the U.S. consider to be in their best interests.

These nations see Washington's Asia policy as based on protecting and enlarging vastly profitable U.S. investments in raw materials abroad. They feel that the U.S. chain of military alliances in Asia—ANZUS, SEATO, the Baghdad Pact—were set up primarily to prevent any change in the governments of America's allies that might endanger U.S. investments rather than to defend the U.S. and its allies from "threats of communism." Washington's refusal to recognize China and its opposition to UN recognition of Peking they attribute to the fear that China's successful emancipation from foreign economic control might be emulated by other Asians.

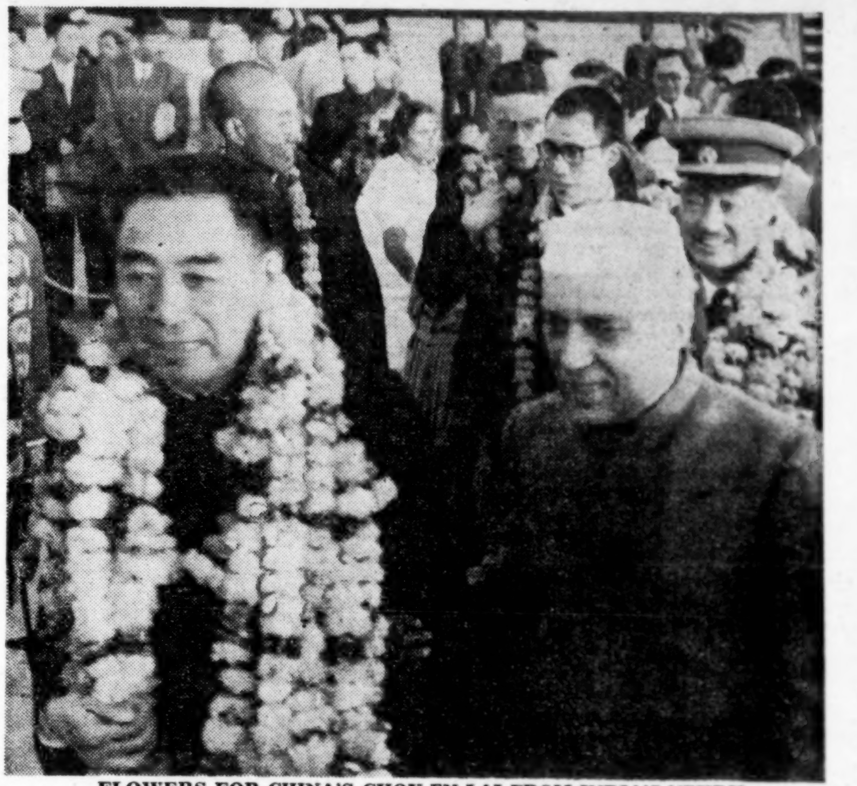
BASES AND OIL: Non-committed Asians point out that even Washington's allies do not seem to take the "threat of communism" seriously. They observe, for example, the growing opposition to U.S. bases in the Philippines. On Dec. 5 U.S.-Philippines negotiations on the status of American military bases were "recessed" indefinitely because the American delegation rejected the Philippine panel's demand for Manila's jurisdiction over U.S. armed forces personnel and its right to control the use of U.S. bases in the event of war. They also notice that, although the U.S. had cast Japan in the role of its major anti-Soviet and anti-China base, on Dec. 5 the Parliament in Tokyo ratified the Japanese-Soviet peace treaty recently negotiated in Moscow.

Despite satisfaction over U.S. support in the UN for Egypt's rights, the Arabs continue to suspect Washington's motive for opposing Anglo-French aggression. They suspect, as the **Christian Science Monitor** said (12/4), "that the motive for U.S. policy throughout the Suez crisis has been a determination of U.S. oil companies to supplant British oil interests in the Middle East." The Arabs cite as precedent the way "American oil companies got their foot in the door in Iran as a result of Britain's difficulties with former Iranian Premier Mossadegh."

CEYLON'S EXAMPLE: If Nehru's visit to the U.S. is to be fruitful, Washington will have to take into account the kind of international relationship Asians consider to be in their best interests. Ceylon's foreign policy furnishes an excellent example of the Asians' viewpoint.

When the present government of Ceylon came to power last April, its first act was to call for the withdrawal of British forces from their Ceylonese bases. Premier Bandaranaike, whose views are pro-Western, next took the realistic step of sending a government mission to the Soviet Union and China to discuss closer ties with these countries.

Since then, Colombo has established impartial trade relations with the Soviet Union, China, Czechoslovakia as well as with Australia, Canada, Britain and the U.S. It has made barter arrangements with China, engaged Czech experts to help build modern industries, started negotiations with Anglo-American firms for erecting an oil refinery. The Bandaranaike government's chief aim is to modernize Ceylon's economy and diversify its trade pattern. To achieve this, the Colombo government has been willing to cooperate with all countries on the basis of full equality.



FLOWERS FOR CHINA'S CHOU EN LAI FROM INDIA'S NEHRU
The Chinese Premier (L.) arrives in New Delhi for a 12-day visit.

LESSONS OF BANDUNG: The direction U.S. policy should take toward Asia was indicated at the Bandung conference, which the West in general and Washington in particular highly underrated.

Differing on many issues, the Bandung nations agreed on four points they considered essential. They were determined to secure economic independence and ultimate control over their resources. They wanted to modernize their economy and break away from the colonial pattern of trade. They believed in unconditional freedom for all colonial countries. And they recognized the important role China had to play in world affairs and in building world peace.

The last point is the most crucial one in any reappraisal of U.S. policy toward Asia, and will undoubtedly be emphasized by Nehru when he visits President Eisenhower. The Indian Premier has recently been conferring with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in New Delhi, where Chou told correspondents that "now is the time to establish better relations" between Peking and Washington.

NEHRU'S HOPE: Prior to his departure for the U.S., Nehru said he hoped that through his "frank and friendly" conversations with the Chinese Premier and the American President, India might "to a slight extent . . . become a link between people who do not otherwise meet." Should be succeed in even slightly modifying the U.S. attitude toward China, he would be helping guide Washington's Asian policy in the right direction.

For, as Walter Lippman said (12/4), "a new relationship between the West and the East" cannot be developed "until there is a settlement which stabilizes in a peace treaty the relations between Communist China and the U.S." There, rather than in the remnants of the British and French empires in the Middle East and N. Africa, Lippman added, "lie the crucial issues between the U.S. and the Asian-African countries."

UN hopes . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Suez Canal; 2) arrangements guaranteeing "free and open transit through the canal without discrimination;" 3) a "permanent settlement of other persistent conflicts which have plagued the Middle East."

TALKS TO RESUME: It was expected that UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold would soon resume Suez talks with Egypt, Britain and France at the point they were broken off by the invasion of Egypt. The U.S. delegation was also expected formally to present a resolution to set up a five-member UN committee to explore the possibilities of resolving the Israeli-Arab conflict.

The UN also took up the question of filling the vacancy in the Security Council created by Yugoslavia's resignation, and the proposal to enlarge the Security Council by two members in the light of the increase in UN membership.

Under the UN charter, the Security Council consists of five permanent members—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and France—and six non-permanent members serving two-year terms. The Charter asks that non-permanent members be elected by secret ballot of the Assembly with "due regard being specially paid . . . to equitable geographical distribution." By a 1946 "gentlemen's agreement," two seats have always been reserved for Latin America, and one each for W. Europe, E. Europe, the Middle East and the British Commonwealth.

QUICK DEFEAT: Although a general understanding had prevailed that the E. European seat should go to a country friendly to Moscow, Washington managed in 1953 to secure this seat for Turkey. Last year, a bitter controversy broke out over this seat as the Soviet Union, first supporting Poland, switched to Yugoslavia, in opposition to U.S.-supported Philippines. The U.S. contended that the "gentlemen's agreement" was a temporary one.

As 36 ballots failed to break the deadlock between Yugoslavia and the Philippines, the Assembly president called for a drawing of lots. Yugoslavia won, and an informal agreement was made that she would withdraw after one year, allowing the Philippines to hold the seat for a year. It was said that the Soviet delegate had agreed to this understanding.

Last week Yugoslavia vacated her seat according to the agreement. But the Soviet Union denied supporting the agreement last year, nominated Czechoslavakia for the seat vacated by Yugoslavia. Unlike last year, the Philippines won on the first ballot by a vote of 51-20. Since the Asians, the Scandinavians and most of the British Commonwealth members in the past supported the 1946 "gentlemen's agreement", Czechoslovakia's quick defeat was taken as evidence of their disapproval of Soviet involvement in Hungary.

ECONOMIC AID: There were also indications last week that UN delegates from under-developed countries would press for increased channeling of economic aid through UN agencies. In a speech at the New School for Social Research in New York, Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist and exec. secy. of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, criticised U.S. trade policies with under-developed countries.

"When international aid becomes unilateral and politics thus enters into the distribution of it," Myrdal said, "both moral and economic standards are apt to crumble." Echoing the same feeling, Sudan's UN delegate Mohammed Mahgoub said his country would seek economic assistance from "international agencies such as the UN" because aid from "recognized political groups would place us in a position of announced political debt to one power or the other."

Canard Enchaine, Paris
FILLING STATION

Canard Enchaine, Paris
OLD ROCK N' ROLL GOT ME
That crazy rhythm shakes, l. to r., Eden, Dulles, Pineau, Shepilov, Nasser, Tito, Khrushchev.

THE TORY PARTY IS BANKRUPT

Suez crisis gives Labour its biggest chance

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON.

FOR THE TWO-DAY debate culminating in a government majority of 52 on its Middle East confidence vote, the House of Commons was again packed to the rafters. The violent hullabaloo set off by the Suez adventure had eased off and defenders and critics, having nothing really new to say, were allowed to say it with little cheering or jeering. But the atmosphere was tense and bitter, and the comparative orderliness suggested not that the hurricane was over, but that its center had been reached.

The question in all minds was whether the Tory government—its leader sunning himself in Jamaica, his deputies imperturbably revealing its failure and bankruptcy—could long survive. The defection of 15 diehards in the vote of confidence was cause for Tory alarm, but the responsibilities faced by the Labour Opposition were tremendous and it was not yet clear whether they were ready to meet them.

On the Tory side, quick oblivion seemed the only possible fate for Sir Anthony, the little man who wasn't there and whom almost nobody now loves. His long-time right-wing enemy, Randolph Churchill, who has a pretty good inside track on such matters, said that Eden had twice been overruled in the Cabinet—on Nov. 5 and 19—and, "in a nervous and agitated state", had "expressed a desire to resign forthwith." To avoid a fatal party split, the Tory triumvirate of Macmillan, Butler and Lord Salisbury had (according to Churchill) suggested the "phased withdrawal" of which the Jamaica jaunt was the first stage.

NO CURE: Most observers believed Eden would gracefully fade away in the weeks after Christmas, but few could see how the party could pull out of the hole it had dug for itself unless Labour muffed its opportunity. The Tories themselves had no surgeon capable of healing their internal division. Neither Butler nor Macmillan, the candidates for leadership, commanded the necessary prestige and following. The party needed a quick formula for rallying the British people, restoring and maintaining bonds with the Commonwealth and the U.S., and at the same time maintaining the profits and privileges of the British ruling class. Not even the outline of such a formula was visble in the Tory leaders' contributions to the Middle East debate, and the head of the ancient imperial lion, Winston Churchill, sagged moodily on to his chest as he listened to them.

The speeches of Labour spokesmen, who had all the arguments and marshalled them vigorously, suggested that they were well aware what needed to be done. With telling effect they flung their barbs into the glum-faced Tory benches

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Are we going in or coming out?"

about the havoc wrought by Suez upon Commonwealth and U.S. relations, and how Britain's aggression had spurred the U.S.S.R. to move more tanks into Hungary on Nov. 4.

THE 'RED PERIL': Aneurin Bevan, at his sardonic best, ridiculed the Tory claim that the Suez action had stopped a Soviet war plot. "They [the Tories] have come to a safe harbor," he said. "It was the 'Red peril' all the time. It was not the canal. It was the 'Red peril' which they unmasked." But Bevan went on to insist that civilized peoples must now govern their actions by altogether different standards. However many lives Britain had taken at Port Said, "if it was only one we had no business to take it." He reminded the Tories that London is "the biggest civilian target in the world"—and yet, "exposed as no nation is exposed to the barbarism of modern weapons, we ourselves set the example."

Meanwhile Commonwealth leaders continued to twist the dagger which the Tories had stuck into their own breast. Ceylon Prime Minister Bandaranaike, fresh from "very cordial" talks with the U.S. President who had no time for either Lloyd or Eden, expressed in London "very great relief" at the British decision to withdraw from Egypt and added that the sooner they quit their bases in Ceylon, the better. India's Nehru, on the eve of a U.S. visit as Eisenhower's honored guest, flatly refuted Tory suggestions that Indian and other UN forces were in Egypt as a continuation of the Anglo-French occupation, or to "protect" the canal. He was amazed at the suggestion by Lloyd and others that the British action forestalled a major war or limited hostilities, and angrily dismissed the 18-power proposals for control of the canal as "dead as cold mutton."

THE COST: In Britain, working-class uneasiness deepened as "Suez" price rises began, more wage demands were turned down and the shadow of unemployment lengthened; wealthier groups muttered and bickered about the "unfairness" of the gas-rationing scheme. The whole cost of living was due for a steep climb with oil products raised to the highest price in history (gasoline now costing three times the British World War II price, almost twice the current price in Holland). The **Manchester Guardian** saw the "clear possibility" of a sharp deterioration in Britain's external trade position, and of serious unemployment following on further restriction of domestic demand.

No Labour supporter wanted to see a Labour government "swept into office by the spite of angry motorists" (**New Statesman & Nation**, 12/8). The question was whether the party of socialism would, in its inner councils over the next few weeks, unite behind radical, unequivocal new policies both at home and abroad. That Bevan was ready to undertake such a radical change in foreign policy, the party's candidate for Foreign Minister had already indicated. Leader Gaitskell, a right-winger but with an excellent record through the Suez crisis, had not yet shown how far he would go. He has not, in the past, been impervious to such taunts as were flung at him in the Middle East debate by Tories, who used time-

Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

honored parliamentary tricks to re-open the split between Labour's left and right wings. They showered praise on the "statesmanship" of the hated Bevan while savagely attacking Gaitskell, whom Macmillan accused of "pure hysteria" over Suez. Their attacks carried the implied hope that Gaitskell, an "old school tie" man, was not yet committed to a policy of "class treason" alongside of his working-class and left-wing team-mates.

WILL LABOUR LEAD? One possibly ominous sign on Labour's horizon was the campaign for a non-partisan "massive united effort" by the whole nation, launched by the **Daily Mirror**, the Labourite mass-circulation paper which powerfully attacked the Suez adventure and later began to soft-pedal. The **Times**, solid pillar of British capitalism which has been increasingly worried since Suez, commended the **Mirror's** plea for "rising above political differences." The **Times** said: "The possibilities are there to evoke a response" to such a call for forget-the-past unity; "it depends on the power and capacity of the Government to make the right call."

But the Tory party was bankrupt, and it was to Labour that the crisis made its challenge. It challenged the party once more to lead Britain forward to socialism, the only alternative road to the present one plainly signposted "Disaster". British socialists, betrayed in past crises when opportunity knocked, were asking: Will the old school tie win out again? And if it does, will there always be an England?

Montgomery . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

med the church and spilled over onto the sidewalks was an elderly little lady who, although crippled, had walked four miles to the meeting. She told **N. Y. Post** reporter Ted Poston: "I'd have come here if I had to crawl. I had to say: 'Hail to the King.'"

THE DO-NOTHINGS: Lillian Smith was to have come to Montgomery. From her home in Clayton, Ga., where she is stricken with cancer, the author of **Strange Fruit** sent this message:

"There are amongst us the few sincere, even intelligent people who want moderation simply because to them it is a synonym for doing nothing. . . . There are people who react in a similar way when they are told they have cancer. They decide to be moderate and do nothing. Why? Because they are scared. And because they are very frightened, they convince themselves that if they do nothing the cancer will go away.

"The tragic fact is, neither cancer nor segregation will go away while you close your eyes. Both are dangerous diseases because they spread. . . . The critical moment is on us. Now is the time to deal with it. . . Thank you for dramatizing before the eyes of America that the question is not, 'Are you an extremist?' but 'What kind of extremist are you?'"

SPIRIT OF GANDHI: On Thurs., Dec. 6, the Institute summoned all Montgomery to a "Day of Fasting and Prayer." In the morning church bells tolled all over the city in response to Rev. Abernathy's appeal: "If your church is too poor to have a bell to toll yet, then get you a stick to beat, and beat on the walls for five minutes. But give thanks to God somehow at 6 a.m." Thousands of Negroes had pledged to take no food that day from midnight to 4 p.m.

There was a mood of a Gandhi-like mission in Montgomery and a sense of historic destiny that went beyond the mere refusal to ride jimcrow buses. But that cause had sparked the movement and now held out the promise of its first victory.

The victory was still a promise although the U. S. Supreme Court had ruled that any state or city ordinance seeking to enforce segregation on buses was unconstitutional. Still, jimcrow ruled Montgomery buses and the volunteer car pool which for almost a year had carried the boycotters to and from work was now disbanded by court injunction. The Negroes were walking. The victory, all but won, was being postponed by local legal maneuvers.

COURT DELAYS: Early in November there were reports that an independent, pro-segregation group was threatening to swear out warrants against the car pool operators, mainly churches, by way of breaking the jimcrow resistance. MIA lawyers went to court for an injunction to prevent interference with the car pool.

Then the city filed its own suit for an injunction against the car pool and "compensatory damages" of about $15,000 which the city calculated would have been its share of bus company revenue. On Nov. 13, a few hours after the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow ruling, the Alabama Circuit Court granted the city its injunction, making the car pool illegal.

Negro leaders were unconcerned, thinking that the Supreme Court's decision would instantly illegalize jimcrow and make the car pool obsolete in any case. But then word came that the decision would not be effective for 25 days to allow for appeals.

MOST STILL WALK: Complicating the situation still further, the bus company argued that an earlier injunction prohibiting integration on the buses would have to be dissolved before the Supreme Court's decision could be complied with.

Most Negroes in Montgomery, temporarily cheated of their victory, walked. Some were given lifts to their jobs by next-door neighbors. A few used taxis. Almost nobody chose to ride on the still jimcrow bus-line, though the elaborate system of station wagon dispatchers and pick-up stops was thoroughly dismantled.

The year of unparalleled unity that saw the birth of a new kind of movement in the South had taken its toll. Some 90 leaders face trial on charges of conspiracy against the bus-lines. Rev. King's own case is on appeal. Countless others have lost their jobs and are blacklisted. An economic siege has been leveled against Negro businessmen who took part.

DOLLARS FOR FREEDOM: The MIA, facing a continued, many-sided battle, is certain of the support of the 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery. But last week it sent out a call to all Americans to mark the first anniversary of its fight with "Dollars for Freedom" and asked that these be rushed to Montgomery Improvement Assn., 530 South Union St., Montgomery, Ala.

Last Call

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BOOKS

The life of Chu Teh is the full story of modern China

By William H. Hinton

William H. Hinton spent seven years in China—first with OWI and UNNRA, and then as a teacher of agricultural engineering with the state farm bureau of the Chinese Ministry of Agriculture. He returned to the U.S. in 1953.

IT SEEMS TO ME most remarkable that such a book as this biography of Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and People's Liberation Army Commander,* should exist. Twenty years ago Gen. Chu was not a well-known man. He lived in a cave carved from one of North Shensi's desolate loess hills. The seven ill-equipped divisions he commanded stirred no more apprehension among the great powers of the world than a flea might on the back of a hog. Yet Agnes Smedley, arriving in Yenan in 1937, sensed that China's future lay with Chu and his men. Deliberately she picked him as a symbol and, in one way or another, devoted much of the rest of her life to the task of searching out and writing up his life.

Now, several years after her death, when the hero of her work has been thrust by the action of the Chinese people onto the center of the world stage, the biography which she was unable to finish appears at precisely the right moment to illumine for us not only one man, Chu Teh, but the whole vast, complex Chinese revolution which shaped him and which he in turn did so much to shape.

FOR MANY a reader whose interest in China was first aroused by Edgar Snow's **Red Star Over China** and thereafter sustained by such brilliant books as Theodore H. White's **Thunder Out of China** and Jack Belden's **China Shakes The World**, much of the story told by Agnes Smedley is familiar. The Long March, the Sian Incident, the Resistance War, the Fall of Yenan—all these are not only familiar, they have become a part of the consciousness of a whole progressive generation, and perhaps for that reason the tale, like all great epics, never ceases to inspire. To have it at last between the covers of one book and unified around the life of one man is wonderful. And if it seems wonderful to those of us who know the story well, how much greater must its impact be on a newer generation hitherto almost completely shuttered from these events and taught to view the victory of the Peoples Liberation Army in China as a world calamity.

But it is not the familiar part of Chu's story that one is impelled to stress. It is the hitherto unknown story of Chu Teh's early life that seems to me to be most important. It is not always easy to see how, in the life of nations, the events of one century are rooted in the century which preceded it. By reviewing a life which spans seven decades and three social epochs (feudal, capitalist, socialist) a thread is unravelled that lends continuity to the flux of otherwise almost incredible events.

AS I READ **The Great Road** and thought back to the lives of hundreds of people I had known in China, the conviction grew that Chu Teh's life, extraordinary as it might seem, was indeed as typical and representative of the Chinese people as a whole as Agnes Smedley believed it to be.

Born in the last days of the Empire when China had reached the nadir of misery and helplessness, Chu Teh was nurtured on tales of the great Taiping Revolution through which an earlier generation had attempted to overthrow feudalism only to be drowned in the blood of twenty million dead. The year 1900 found him in an obscure Szechuan schoolroom answering teacher Hsi's catechism on the "right way to save China." Eight years later he swore a solemn oath never to accept official position or to marry until China was liberated from Manchu and foreign control. In 1911 when a revolt in the army sparked the overthrow of the Imperial dynasty Chu was among the troops that stormed the walls of Kunming.

CHU TEH
He spans three eras

A PERIOD of warlordism followed during which Chu temporarily lost his way, took to smoking opium and tried to salvage something for his family alone. But this did not last long. By a tremendous effort of will he broke himself of the opium habit and went abroad as many thousands had before him to see if an answer to China's problems might not be found in those very countries that so successfully oppressed her. One thing he was sure of: "No country on earth was so miserable as China."

In Germany he studied a modern industrial economy, learned the basic principles of Marxism and returned home in time to plunge into the new revolution that was just then at its height.

What makes this story significant is that tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, probably millions of China's best young people undertook such a search as this for a path to national liberation. They represented the real heart and mind of the nation. As one by one, at home or abroad, they found the revolutionary road their energies and enthusiasm merged into an irresistible torrent.

NEVERTHELESS the road was never easy. It is too bad that Agnes Smedley did not go more deeply into the two darkest periods of Chu's life—the years of warlordism and the years of the destruction of the South China bases that ended in the Long March. It seems as if she could not bare to look these tragic events in the face and put off full treatment of them until it was too late.

This is unfortunate because these reverses were an essential part of the moulding of Chu and of China. The victories of later years can hardly be understood without a deep look at the defeats and disasters of an earlier time. The Chinese people did not find their way without many a bitter detour and many a severe wound.

How paltry and stupid, beside this reality, are the conspiracy theories of the Eastlands and the Jenners. If Chu Teh's biography means anything it means that the Chinese revolution was created by the genius of the Chinese people themselves out of their own great need and through their own action.

**THE GREAT ROAD, by Agnes Smedley. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y. 461 pp. $6.75.*

THE GREAT DEBATE

New appraisal of the Left spares few in its criticisms

HERSHEL D. MEYER is a Marxist scholar and political analyst whose books **Must We Perish** and **The Last Illusion** are well-known to the American Left though they are matters of disagreement among other Left theorists. Past disagreements will seem mild, however, compared to those which must greet his latest work, **The Khrushchev Report and the Crisis in the American Left.**

This is a double-barreled blast at all for whom "Stalinism" has provided a cover-up for failure and sin. The pellets land in a wide circle, hitting K. himself as well as most leaders of the CPUSA and the editors of the Party paper, the **Daily Worker.** Yet Meyer is not a Stalinist, as his own well-documented diagnosis of Stalin's paranoia shows.

Khrushchev comes under fire for a variety of apparent inconsistencies in his Report but principally for the thesis that by 1935 the counter-revolutionary groups in the USSR "were long defeated." Without questioning that Stalin was taken in by secret police chief Beria, Meyer argues that Beria himself represented "a highly organized, continuously active political group" whose aim was the destruction of Soviet power by decimation of the Communist Party and the nation's military leadership, and undermining the people's confidence in socialism.

THE EXCESSES: In this light, he attaches especial significance to the excesses of 1937-38, directed principally at leading military figures on the eve of World War II; and to the frequency with which "first secretaries of Central Committees" were the victims; and, outside Soviet borders, the instigation of the break with Yugoslavia and the frameup and execution of Communist leadership in Hungary, Bulgaria and perhaps elsewhere.

Meyer finds it "more than probable that these activities were engineered in collusion with foreign accomplices." Later he makes clear his belief that these same influences are still at work in Poland and Hungary. Indeed he marvels that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union survived to begin the righting of things upon Stalin's death. "The Party was the chief victim of Stalinist terror, but it proved indestructible."

Those who perished in the purges were "as much victims of counter-revolution as those . . . during the civil war period." The survivors have exhibited "a nobility inexplicable to people of a bourgeois outlook," comparable to the "stamina, dedication and understanding . . . exhibited by our own Anna Louise Strong."

CRITICAL: Meyer is scornful throughout his argument at most of the dispute conducted by the CPUSA leadership on its outlook toward the USSR, and especially the readiness of the **Daily Worker** editorship to join in the attack on the USSR over events in Poland and Hungary. CPUSA leader William Z. Foster escapes most of Meyer's criticism, but comes in for a share in the discussion of the Party's Draft Resolution for future guidance. This, Meyer finds a rhetorical substitute for "persistent, patient, grass-root activities among the people." **—John T. McManus**

THE KHRUSHCHEV REPORT and the CRISIS IN THE AMERICAN LEFT, by Hershel D. Meyer, 111 pp.; Independence Publishers, G.P.O. Box 42, Brooklyn 1, N. Y. $1.

THE TRUTH IS REASSURING

How the new China came to be and what it means to us

FOR SOME YEARS Asians and Europeans, including many allies of the U. S., have been puzzled by Washington's obstinate refusal to recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China, its naive belief in Chiang Kai-shek as a spokesman of nearly a quarter of the world's population.

However, recently many Americans—especially businessmen—have become aware of the absurdity of Washington's China policy. There have been indications that Washington itself has begun a cautious reappraisal of its attitude towards China. To all those who are interested in such a reappraisal as well as to the general public, Julian Schuman's **Assignment China*** should be distinctly valuable.

SCHUMAN went to China in 1947 with certain distinct assets. He knew the language well, had studied Chinese history and classical literature. His mind was free of any preconceived notions about China; this enabled him to observe without bias the momentous events of the six years he spent there (1947-53). He watched the "disintegration and fall of Chiang Kai-shek [and] the rise and consolidation of the present regime of Mao Tse-tung." He "sought both before and after the change in regime, through daily living among the people and daily contact with all classes . . . to spell out the meaning of events behind the exterior facade of 'news'."

In China Schuman was, in turn, correspondent for the American Broadcasting Co., writer for the Chicago **Sun-Times** and Denver **Post**, and associate editor of the American-owned and edited **China Monthly Review.** He was the last American correspondent to leave China after the present Peking government came to power.

BELIEVING that "it would be safer to know her as she really is" rather than "speculate on the kind of China we would prefer," Schuman has given vivid pictures of the corruption and misery prevailing in China during Chiang's rule; the swift collapse of Chiang's forces and the flight to Formosa of Chiang and his friends, carrying all their transportable wealth; the slow and sometimes confusing and often painful rehabilitation and building-up of China's industry and agriculture under the new regime on "the principle of voluntariness and of mutual benefit"; and the establishment of a popular, coalition government under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Schuman describes the changes in China not merely in terms of statistics but also in terms of ordinary human beings he met and came to know well. A long list of fascinating characters from all parts of China parade through the book: humble city workers and shop-keepers, gangsters and procurers, businessmen and sophisticated intellectuals, landowners and landless peasants who later deal justice to their former masters. One illuminating chapter entitled "Fruits of Demonology" effectively exposes the methods and sources of distorted news appearing in U. S. periodicals.

AT A TIME when Asian-African and many European members of the United Nations keenly feel the lack of proper representation of China in the world organization, and when Washington is reported to be re-evaluating its Asia policy, it is incredible that the U. S. government would continue to persecute Americans with honest and first-hand knowledge of China instead of soliciting their counsel. Schuman and his colleagues William and Sylvia Powell—former editors and owners of the **China Monthly Review**—are now on trial for violating the Espionage Act, simply because, as they maintain, of their truthful reporting of the Korean war.

Reading this book one agrees with Schuman that, in contrast to the "brightly packaged fantasies that so impress their authors in Washington and Times Square", the picture presented in **Assignment China** is a true and reassuring one: "True because it shows the China that really exists. Reassuring because that is a China from which the American people have nothing to fear."

—Kumar Goshal

**ASSIGNMENT CHINA, by Julian Schuman. Whittier Books, Inc., 31 Union Sq. West, New York 3. 249 pp. plus Index. $4.*

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Highway to tyranny

The excerpts following have been selected from an address by H. Lowndes Maury, dean of the Montana Bar, before the Bar Assn. in Butte on the subject of the Smith Act. This Christmas, as in all other years since Americans have been arrested and imprisoned under the Smith Act, appeals for amnesty and cessation of further prosecutions will be before the President. In all previous years, these appeals have been ignored. As these remarks are printed GUARDIAN subscribers may receive an annual Holiday appeal from the families of Smith Act Victims, 575 Ave. of the Americas. New York 11, N. Y. We urge your most generous response.

I AM A "ROOSEVELT DEMOCRAT." Perhaps, the leading person in our dwindling party is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She last Christmas headed a petition of many intellectuals to the President to pardon all of the 110 political prisoners convicted under the "Smith Act."

The Smith Act must be discussed with some reference to the Walter-McCarran Act and the Taft-Hartley Act. One is the Sedition Act; the second is the Alien Act which Jefferson called dangers to freedom; all three are to curb organized labor.

The Smith Act, intolerant of Communists in our midst, Walter-McCarran Act, our Paper Curtain, that excludes 10 million French, 12 million Italians, the Dean of Canterbury and a billion others from visiting our country, and keeps 14 million foreign born amongst us in silent fear, the Taft-Hartley Act, restoring injunctions against labor unions but not against Chambers of Commerce, are all born of intolerance: intolerance at times descends to laws against witches.

OVER ONE HUNDRED decent-living, peaceful citizens have been convicted under the Smith Act, sent to prison for 5 to 10 years, fined $5,000 or more. Some on the Supreme Bench must believe the Act unconstitutional. The Court has recently reversed the conviction of Nelson of Pennsylvania, and is reviewing that of Lightfoot of Chicago. For this reason some trial Federal Judges are postponing Smith Act cases until after the Court of Last Resort clarifies the law or annuls it. The fever that at first struck some of the Federal Judiciary is abating.

John Bunyan, a moulder of our language, wrote 200 years ago: "That informer, he was at the heat of his work, spying on his neighbors. His own dog went mad and bit him that he died." In Ireland the British spies were called from their uniforms Black and Tans. A young Catholic confessed: "Father, I killed a Black and Tan." Rumor says the priest angrily replied: "Young man, you are here to confess your sins before Almighty God—not to brag of your achievements."

The Ninth Court of Appeals in October, 1955, said:

"Bear in mind whether or not we must look forward to a day when substantially everyone must contemplate the possibility that his neighbors are being encouraged to make reports to the FBI about what he says, what he reads, and what meetings he attends."

I once lived in a free country. In 1884 the Civil Service Commission adopted a rule about hiring Federal Servants. "No question in any form of application or in any examination shall be so framed as to elicit information concerning the political or religious opinions or affiliations of any applicant, nor shall any inquiry be made concerning such opinions or affiliations."

The rule lasted through World War I until 1939.

A MAN MAY BE quite loyal himself, yet as a member of the Communist Party may be condemned to cruel and unusual punishment. This is a reversion to the former Chinese law of guilt by association or a Stalin Purge. It has raised contempt and disgust for American legal process in the eyes of thoughtful lawyers in England, France, in fact, all over the world. As it all springs from fear, all educated men realize that America is no longer the Land of the Free or the Home of the Brave.

The ravings of some Federal Judges in these cases have intimidated the legal profession. By the Constitution all charged with crime are entitled to counsel. Yet, when counsel put up a spirited defense in the cases, they have been abused from the bench, punished for contempt, and even disbarred.

More members of the National Lawyers Guild defend these cases than members of the American Bar Association. So Brownell has decreed the Guild subversive. Thus, the Attorney General has assumed or been by Congress given both judicial and legislative power. Montesquieu in his immortal Spirit of the Laws said 200 years ago, this is the highway to Tyranny.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, in fact, every signer of the Declaration of Independence could have been convicted under a Smith Act.

Along with our enormous production of wealth Americans have lost their liberties. The Smith Act, the Walter-McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley Act are fascist measures: tolerated by an ignorant servile electorate: under them and the stables of spies, and a tyrannical attorney general

"Freedom now so seldom speaks
"The only sigh She gives
"Is when some heart indignant breaks
"To show that still She lives."

As long as those laws exist, we offer the world for choice only Hitlerism. Until America returns to Democracy the models for the rising nations are only totalitarian communism or our totalitarian fascism.

—LOWNDES MAURY.

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New York

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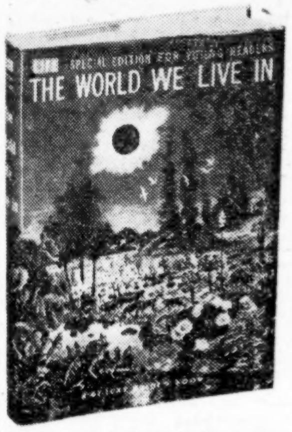

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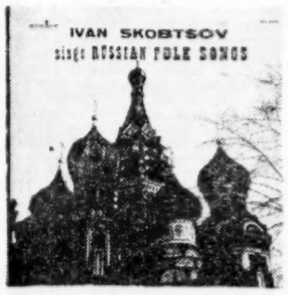

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